The Political Quarterly

EDITORS
ANDREW GAMBLE and TONY WRIGHT

LITERARY EDITOR
BERNARD CRICK

REPORTS AND SURVEYS EDITOR
CAREY OPPENHEIM

VOLUME 69

The
Political Quarterly

Founded in 1930

EDITORS
Andrew Gamble and **Tony Wright**

LITERARY EDITOR
Bernard Crick

REPORTS AND SURVEYS EDITOR
Carey Oppenheim

Assistant Editor: Gillian Bromley

EDITORIAL BOARD

James Cornford (Chairman)
Sarah Baxter
Bernard Crick
Colin Crouch
Lawrence Freedman
Andrew Gamble
Paul Hirst
Richard Holme
John Keane
Sunil Khilnani
David Lipsey
Joyce McMillan
David Marquand
Geoff Mulgan
Stephen Tindale
D. Cameron Watt
Gwyneth Williams
Tony Wright MP

FORMER EDITORS
William A. Robson, Kingsley Martin, Leonard Woolf, T. E. M. McKitterick, John P. Mackintosh, Bernard Crick, David Watt, Rudolf Klein, Colin Crouch, David Marquand

© The Political Quarterly Publishing Co Ltd
ISSN 0032-3179

Contributors of Articles, Reputations, Reports and Surveys

ARMSTRONG, Harvey What Future for Regional Policy in the UK? 200
BARR, Nicholas and CRAWFORD, Ian The Dearing Report and the Government's Response: A Critique 72
BROWN, Archie Asymmetrical Devolution: The Scottish Case 215
BJUGAN, Ketil The 1997 Norwegian Parliamentary Election: A Swing towards Parliamentary Power? 177
BURT, Eleanor Charities and Political Activity: Time to Re-think the Rules 23
CAMPBELL, Mary Pensions: Redressing the Balance 14
CHARMLEY, John The Conservative Defeat: An Historical Perspective 118
CLARKE, Peter Keynes and Keynesianism 297
COLLS, Robert Ethics Man: John Gray's New Moral World 59
DEACON, Alan The Green Paper in Welfare Reform: A Case for Enlightened Self-interest? 306
DOIG, Alan and WILSON, John What Price New Public Management? 267
DUNCAN, Colin The Elusive Nature of NHS Crises 432
FIELD, Frank Inside the Whale: Redrawing the Line between State and Government 252
FREEDEN, Michael J. A. Hobson and Welfare Liberalism 441
GARNETT, Mark and GILMOUR, Ian The Lessons of Defeat 126
GLYN-JONES, Frank Preparing for the Twenty-first Century: Into the Technological Storm 277
HARKER, Lisa A National Childcare Strategy: Does it Meet the Childcare Challenge? 458
HILLMAN, Josh 'The Learning Age': Agenda for Lifelong Learning? 312
HIRST, Paul Ownership and Democracy 354
HOLMES, Martin The Conservative Party and Europe: From Major to Hague 133
HOLTHAM, Gerry Ownership and Privatised Utilities 386
JEFFERY, Charlie Electoral Reform: Learning from Germany 241
JOHNSON, Paul and TANNER, Sarah Ownership and the Distribution of Wealth 365
KELLY, Gavin and GAMBLE, Andrew Owners and Citizens 344
LE GRAND, Julian Ownership and Social Policy 415
LEACH, Robert Local Government Reorganisation RIP? 31
LEADBEATER, Charles Who Will Own the Knowledge Economy? 375
LEAMAN, Alan Ending Equidistance 160
LEWIS, Jane 'Work', 'Welfare' and Lone Mothers 4
LUSTGARTEN, Laurence Constitutional Discipline and the Arms Trade: The Scott Report and Beyond 422
PATERSON, Lindsay The Scottish Parliament and Scottish Civil Society: Which Side will Education be on? 224

© The Political Quarterly Publishing Co. Ltd. 1998
Published by Blackwell Publishers, 108 Cowley Road, Oxford OX4 1JF, UK and 350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148, USA

PEELE, Gillian Towards 'New Conservatives'? Organisational Reform and the Conservative Party 141
PERRI 6 Ownership and the New Politics of the Public Interest Services 404
PLENDER, John Ownership and Pensions 394
SAGGAR, Shamit A Late, Though Not Lost, Opportunity: Ethnic Minority Electors, Party Strategy and the Conservative Party 148
SINGH, Robert Gun Control in America 288
SKELCHER, Chris Reforming the Quangos 41
TAYLOR, Robert The *Fairness at Work* White Paper 451
TIVEY, Leonard T. H. Huxley: Ethics and Politics 170
VINCENT, Andrew New Ideologies for Old? 48
WEBSTER, Frank What are our Universities for? 234
WILLETTS, David Conservative Renewal 110
WILLIAMS, Neil The Changing Face of Whitehall: Open Government, Policy Development and the Quest for Efficiency 258

© The Political Quarterly Publishing Co. Ltd. 1998

Articles, Reputations, Reports and Surveys

A Late, Though Not Lost, Opportunity: Ethnic Minority Electors, Party Strategy and the Conservative Party 148
A National Childcare Strategy: Does it Meet the Childcare Challenge? 458
Asymmetrical Devolution: The Scottish Case 215
Charities and Political Activity: Time to Re-think the Rules 23
Conservative Renewal 110
Constitutional Discipline and the Arms Trade: The Scott Report and Beyond 422
Electoral Reform: Learning from Germany 241
Ending Equidistance 160
Ethics Man: John Gray's New Moral World 59
Gun Control in America 288
Inside the Whale: Redrawing the Line between State and Government 252
J. A. Hobson and Welfare Liberalism 441
Keynes and Keynesianism 297
Local Government Reorganisation RIP? 31
New Ideologies for Old? 48
Owners and Citizens 344
Ownership and Democracy 354
Ownership and Pensions 394
Ownership and Privatised Utilities 386
Ownership and Social Policy 415
Ownership and the Distribution of Wealth 365
Ownership and the New Politics of the Public Interest Services 404
Pensions: Redressing the Balance 14
Preparing for the Twenty-first Century: Into the Technological Storm 277
Reforming the Quangos 41
T. H. Huxley: Ethics and Politics 170
The Changing Face of Whitehall: Open Government, Policy Development and the Quest for Efficiency 258
The Conservative Defeat: An Historical Perspective 118
The Conservative Party and Europe: From Major to Hague 133
The Dearing Report and the Government's Response: A Critique 72
The Elusive Nature of NHS Crises 432
The *Fairness at Work* White Paper 451
The Green Paper in Welfare Reform: A Case for Enlightened Self-interest? 306
'The Learning Age': Agenda for Lifelong Learning? 312
The Lessons of Defeat 126
The 1997 Norwegian Parliamentary Election: A Swing towards Parliamentary Power? 177
The Scottish Parliament and Scottish Civil Society: Which Side will Education be on? 224
Towards 'New Conservatives'? Organisational Reform and the Conservative Party 141
What are our Universities for? 234
What Future for Regional Policy in the UK? 200
What Price New Public Management? 267

© The Political Quarterly Publishing Co. Ltd. 1998

Who Will Own the Knowledge Economy? 375
'Work', 'Welfare' and Lone Mothers 4

© The Political Quarterly Publishing Co. Ltd. 1998

Books Reviewed

A Conservative Future Maurice Cowling 104
A History of the British Labour Party Andrew Thorpe 92
All Must Have Prizes Melanie Phillips 99
Blood Money: The Swiss, the Nazis and the Looted Billions Tom Bower 467
Broadcasting, Society and Policy in the Multi-media Age Andrew Graham and Gavyn Davies 188
Building European Union: A Documentary and Historical Analysis Trevor Salmon and Sir William Nicoll, eds 85
Callaghan: A Life Kenneth A. Morgan 319
China Against the Tide: Restructuring through Revolution, Radicalism and Reform Marc Blecher 190
Christian Justice and Public Policy Duncan B. Forrester 193
Cities for a Small Planet Richard Rogers, ed. Philip Gumachgijan 332
Citizenship: Feminist Perspectives Ruth Lister 328
Citizenship in Modern Britain Keith Faulks 328
Classes and Cultures: England 1918–1951 Ross McKibbin 464
Creating Citizens: Political Education and Liberal Democracy Eamonn Callan 328
Democracy, Sovereignty and the European Union Michael Newman 85
Ex-enemy Jews: The Fate of the Assets in Britain of the Holocaust Victims and Survivors Holocaust Education Trust 467
Exits and Entrances: Political Research as a Creative Art Lewis Minkin 192
Full Employment: A Pledge Betrayed John Grieve Smith 186
Gordon Brown Paul Routledge 319
Hitler's Secret Bankers: How Switzerland Profited from Nazi Genocide Adam Lebor 467
Holistic Government Perri 6 333
Ideas and Policies under Labour 1945–1951 Martin Francis 92
In Defence of History Richard J. Evans 101
Jennie Lee: A Life Patricia Hollis 319
Liberty before Liberalism Quentin Skinner 325
London Conference on Nazi Gold: Lancaster House 2–4 December 1997 Foreign and Commonwealth Office 467
Major: A Political Life Anthony Seldon 321
Making Votes Count Patrick Dunleavy, Helen Margetts, Brendan O'Duffy and Stuart Weir 184
Memoir of a Fascist Childhood Trevor Grundy 323
Nazi Gold: Information from the British Archives Foreign and Commonwealth Office 467
Nazi Gold: Information from the British Archives, Part II: British Policy towards Enemy Property during and after the Second World War Foreign and Commonwealth Office 467
Nazi Gold: The British and Allied Attempts to Deal with Loot from the Second World War and the Implications for the Tripartite Gold Commission Holocaust Education Trust 467
Parliament and the People Philip Laundy 327
Parliament under Pressure Peter Riddell 327

© The Political Quarterly Publishing Co. Ltd. 1998

Planning for Urban Quality Richard Parfect and Gordon Power 332
Political Parties and Democracy: Explorations in History and Theory Arthur Lipow 94
Post Communism: Four Perspectives Michael Mandelbaum, ed. 88
Recasting the European Order: Security Architectures and Economic Cooperation James Sperling and Emil Kirchner 85
Reforming the European Union Andrew Duff 85
Russia First: Breaking with the West Peter Truscott 88
Social Policy and Social Justice Jane Franklin, ed. 470
Switzerland and Gold Transactions in the Second World War: Interim Report Independent Commission of Experts on Switzerland in the Second World War 467
The Age of Churchill and Eden: The Conservative Party 1840–1957 John Ramsden 90
The Audit Society: Rituals of Verification Michael Powell 330
The Day-Star of Liberty: William Hazlitt's Radical Style Tom Paulin 472
The Deng Xiaoping Era: An Inquiry into the Fate of Chinese Socialism, 1978–1994 Maurice Meisner 190
The History of Government, vol. 1: *Ancient Monarchies and Empires*; vol. 2: *The Intermediate Ages*; vol. 3: *Empires, Monarchies and the Modern State* S. E. Finer 102
The Idea of India Sunil Khilnani 96
The Labour Party's Political Thought: A History Geoffrey Foote 92
The Lost Museum: The Nazi Conspiracy to Seize the World's Greatest Works of Art Hector Feliciano 467
The Open Cage: The Ordeal of the Irian Jaya Hostages Daniel Start 473
The Politics of European Treaty Reform: The 1996 Intergovernmental Conference and Beyond Geoffrey Edwards and Alfred Pijpers, eds 85
The Politics of Risk Society Jane Franklin, ed. 470
The Politics of the British Army Hew Strachan 97
The Rape of Europa Lynn Nicholas 467
The Rebirth of Politics in Russia Michael Urban with Vyacheslav Igrunov and Sergei Mitrokhin 88
The Revival of Right-wing Extremism in the Nineties Peter H. Merkl and Leonard Weinberg, eds 324
The Search for Normality: National Identity and Historical Consciousness in Germany since 1900 Joyce Crick 475
The Swiss, the Gold and the Dead: How Swiss Bankers Financed the Nazi War Machine Jean Ziegler, trans. John Brownjohn 467
The Treaty of Amsterdam Andrew Duff 85
Treasure Hoard: A New York Times Reporter Tracks the Quedlinburg Hoard William H. Honan 467
Varieties of Transition: The East European and East German Experience Claus Offe 88
Whatever Happened to the Tories? The Conservative Party since 1945 Ian Gilmour and Mark Garnett 321
Winds of Change: The Conservative Party 1957–1975 John Ramsden 90

© The Political Quarterly Publishing Co. Ltd. 1998